1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

412 find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kwyagda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiot* tree (*Ilex* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *iust*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are
378 made from the *kerowandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kwepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with heat made from
[124] a plant called *teperwiot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
285 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *teperguet* (*amilia integrifolia*).
[263] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[439] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag.
[304] Red earth, *orokait*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
415 earth, *sosoiot*, [illegible] For carrying a number of small objects a
417 carrying-net called *kibandet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of lions stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

996 *Asista*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs
of people: *Asis, ajaiyet paneyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer.
Some say that *Arwoa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides
Asis, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain,
and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also
believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ereoniki*, a word which
includes the *oik* (ancestral spirits) and *mesambwanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
995 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and
though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit
the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food
in the form of *kibomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

959 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
[276] recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
of the type called *sekenyet*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
159 called *orkonyot* (pl. *orkonik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
789 who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a
reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they
have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

964 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which
the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's
death his children plant a branch of *mukuyuet* (*Ficus* sp.) on his grave and let it
grow. Other people are laid out for the funeral, both sexes on the right side with

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: eleusine and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

Ngemuwyot, the common duiker (*cephalophus Grimmi*).
Kipsukesei, the blue duiker (C. aequatorialis).
Mindit, the red duiker (C. igna-issaci).
Kavemaiit, the bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus).
Irukutet, the reedbuck (Cervicapra arundinum).
Kenyelet, the oribi (Ourebia montana).
Kipsomerot, the waterbuck (Cobus ellipsiprymnus).

Of monkeys they eat:

Sairet, the colobus (Colobus guereza).
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey (Cercopithecus albogularis).
Ceveret, grey monkey (C. griseo-viridis).
Komokut, the baboon (Papio cynocephalus).

And of other animals they eat:

Tuvut, the wild pig or wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus).
Tumta, the giant pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).
Maiito, the leopard.
Sombit, the lion.
Soiat, the buffalo.
Peliot, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia) and of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kiptetinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rotik, kepele mat si kokerer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ee somisec kul
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepumbunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumial puc, si kowuanit, kiinde eŋgarel
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Coruet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
● [263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *herepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci hereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). ¾ The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] * Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

¾ [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

[P.194, B]

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[548]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipketisik*), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *tepeyguet* (*aemilia integrifolia*). 273 262 263

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the *imbaret* among the four households which form it. 361 614

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

n^1, n^2 [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [777] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [778] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en doros, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.